1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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and due allowance, of the hardships attendant on savage life. Therefore they are not only voluntarily, but cheerfully submitted to; and as women are not obliged to live with their husbands any longer than suits their pleasure or convenience, it cannot be supposed that they would submit to be loaded with unjust or unequal burdens.

Marriages among the Indians are not, as with us, contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman may in like manner abandon her husband. Therefore the connexion is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife as it were on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if he has children by her. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part every thing in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage.

When a marriage takes place, the duties and labours incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c. to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for house-keeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture, which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c.; the woman, as his *help-mate*, takes upon herself the labours of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his gun and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found: nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that

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while their field labour employs them at most six weeks in the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

When a couple is newly married, the husband (without saying a single word upon the subject) takes considerable pains to please his wife, and by repeated proofs of his skill and abilities in the art of hunting, to make her sensible that she can be happy with him, and that she will never want while they live together. At break of day he will be off with his gun, and often by breakfast time return home with a deer, turkey, or some other game. He endeavours to make it appear that it is in his power to bring provisions home whenever he pleases, and his wife, proud of having such a good hunter for her husband, does her utmost to serve and make herself agreeable to him.

The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Mothers teach their daughters those duties which common sense would otherwise point out to them when grown up. Within doors, their labour is very trifling; there is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their husbands, if they have no horses, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is; it generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for mocksons, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl or dish, with spoons and some bread, corn, salt, &c. for their nourishment. I have never known an Indian woman complain of the hardship of carrying this burden, which serves for their own comfort and support as well as of their husbands.

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The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties, much in the manner of those husking, quilting and other *frolics* (as they are called,) which are so common in some parts of the United States, particularly to the eastward. The labour is thus quickly and easily performed; when it is over, and sometimes in intervals, they sit down to enjoy themselves by feasting on some good victuals, prepared for them by the person or family for whom they work, and which the man has taken care to provide before hand from the woods; for this is considered a principal part of the business, as there are generally more or less of the females assembled who have not, perhaps for a long time, tasted a morsel of meat, being either widows, or orphans, or otherwise in straitened circumstances. Even the chat which passes during their joint labours is highly diverting to them, and so they seek to be employed in this way as long as they can, by going round to all those in the village who have ground to till.

When the harvest is in, which generally happens by the end of September, the women have little else to do than to prepare the daily victuals, and get fire wood, until the latter end of February or beginning of March, as the season is more or less backward, when they go to their sugar camps, where they extract sugar from the maple tree. The men having built or repaired their temporary cabin, and made all the troughs of various sizes, the women commence making sugar, while the men are looking out for meat, at this time generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters. When at home, they will occasionally assist their wives in gathering the sap, and watch the kettles in their absence, that the syrup may not boil over.

A man who wishes his wife to be with him while he is out hunting in the woods, needs only tell her, that on such a day they will go to such a place, where he will

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462 224 hunt for a length of time, and she will be sure to have provisions and every thing else that is necessary in complete readiness, and well packed up to carry to the spot; for the man, as soon as he enters the woods, has to be looking out and about for game, and therefore cannot be encumbered with any burden; after wounding a deer, he may have to pursue it for several miles, often running it fairly down. The woman, therefore, takes charge 462 251 of the baggage, brings it to the place of encampment, and there, immediately enters on the duties of housekeeping, as if they were at home; she moreover takes pains to dry as much meat as she can, that none may be lost; she carefully puts the tallow up, assists in drying the skins, gathers as much wild hemp as possible for the 222 283 purpose of making strings, carrying bands, bags and other necessary articles, collects roots for dyeing; in short does every thing in her power to leave no care to her husband but the important one of providing meat for the family.

After all, the fatigue of the women is by no means to 461 be compared to that of the men. Their hard and diffi- 462 cult employments are periodical and of short duration, while their husband's labours are constant and severe in the extreme. Were a man to take upon himself a part of his wife's duty, in addition to his own, he must necessarily sink under the load, and of course his family must suffer with him. On his exertions as a hunter, their existence depends; in order to be able to follow that rough employment with success, he must keep his limbs as supple as he can, he must avoid hard labour as much as possible, that his joints may not become stiffened, and that he may preserve the necessary strength and agility of body to enable him to pursue the chase, and bear the unavoidable hardships attendant on it; for the fatigues of hunting wear out the body and constitution far more than manual labour. Neither creeks nor rivers, whether shallow or deep, frozen or free

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from ice, must be an obstacle to the hunter, when in pursuit of a wounded deer, bear, or other animal, as is often the case. Nor has he then leisure to think on the state of his body, and to consider whether his blood is not too much heated to plunge without danger into the cold stream, since the game he is in pursuit of is running off from him with full speed. Many dangerous accidents often befal him, both as a hunter and a warrior, (for he is both) and are seldom unattended with painful consequences, such as rheumatism or consumption of the lungs, for which the sweat-house, on which they so much depend, and to which they often resort for relief, especially after a fatiguing hunt or warlike excursion, is not always a sure preservative or an effectual remedy.

The husband generally leaves the skins and peltry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barters them away to the best advantage for such necessaries as are wanted in the family; not forgetting to supply her husband with what he stands in need of, who, when he receives it from her hands never fails to return her thanks in the kindest manner. If debts had been previously contracted, either by the woman, or by her and her husband jointly, or if a horse should be wanted, as much is laid aside as will be sufficient to pay the debts or purchase the horse.

When a woman has got in her harvest of corn, it is considered as belonging to her husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases, without consulting his wife, or being afraid of her being displeased; for she is in the firm belief that he is able to procure that article whenever it is wanted. The sugar which she makes out of the maple tree is also considered as belonging to her husband.

There is nothing in an Indian's house or family without its particular owner. Every individual knows what belongs to him, from the horse or cow down to the dog, cat, kitten and little chicken.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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journeys in which corn was crushed into a meal, "or roasted in hot ashes, then crushed." To this maple sugar was added. This mixture could be stirred in water and boiled or could be eaten dry without cooking.[65] Adams, a Delaware and historian of his people, added that "they carried very simple food," parched corn pounded into a brown meal, sweetened with maple sugar, and mixed together with bear's lard.[66]

Water was the principal drink although various fruits and nuts were sometimes added. They "prepared a kind of liquor like milk by gathering a great number of hickory and black walnuts, dried and crushed them. Then they took out the kernels, pounded them as fine as flour, and mixed this with water so that it looked like milk and was almost as sweet."[67] Both Kinietz' and my informants (O.A., M.B.) held that their ancestors had regular meal times. Penn said that "they eat twice a day, Morning and Evening."[68] Men and women apparently ate together but children ate separately (O.A.). All of my informants stressed the fact that in the past an individual could eat anywhere in the village, and that everybody shared what food was available.

Food taboos. — It is unlikely that there were any general, culture-wide food taboos in early historic times. Certain foods may have been denied to an individual by his guardian spirit, but this is merely a supposition. Not even the animals symbolic of the phratries were taboo. Heckewelder, however, noted a taboo on the rabbit, identified with a culture-hero. He said that the Delawares, among other tribes, avoided the horse, dog, wildcat, ground hog, panther, fox, muskrat, and wolf;[69] De Laet, however, quoting Henry Hudson, described a "fat dog" which was butchered for a feast.[70] Rather than emphasize the few things that were not eaten by the Delawares, it would be more in keeping with the facts to state that the Delawares made relatively complete use of the edibles available to them, except rabbit and ground hog. Their tastes were catholic and were only slightly blunted by socioreligious proscriptions.

Delaware Economics

Although the methods by which and the persons by whom the need-serving goods were processed, distributed, and consumed are properly an aspect of social organization, it probably contributes more to an understanding of Delaware technology to discuss them under the heading of economics.

Division of Labor

The division of labor among the Delawares, as is true of cultures with analogous means of production, was predominantly sexual in

[65] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 22.
[66] Adams, 1905, p. 8.
[67] Kalm, 1937, I: 269.
[68] Penn, 1912, p. 233; Luckenbach, 1938, p. 599, agreed on this point.
[69] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 251-52, 198; Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 132, 140.
[70] De Laet, 1909, p. 49.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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character. Hunting was the primary occupation of men and gardening that of women. Although game did not form a preponderant part of the diet, it was extremely important in that wild animals provided clothing and other nonedible essentials.[91] The game which a man brought home was the property of his wife to do with as she saw fit; conversely, the woman's harvest of corn was "considered as belonging to the husband, who, if he has suffering friends, may give them as much of it as he pleases. . . ."[92] Men also built the dwellings, obtained or made the necessary axes, hoes, canoes, dishes, bowls, and other artifacts.[93] They were also supposed to keep in a constant state of readiness in case of attack, and they appear to have helped clear the land for gardens.[94] The women, in addition to planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the garden produce, bore the burden of all the household tasks. They cut and carried the firewood and made the carrying straps and bags, as well as the family clothing, and tanned the skins.[95] The women also carried the household goods when a family was on the trail.[96] De Vries said: ". . .the women are compelled to work like asses, and when they travel, to carry the baggage on their backs, together with their infants. . . ."[97] Mary Jemison said, however:

> Our labor was not severe; and that of one year was exactly similar, in almost every respect, to that of all others, without that endless variety [of white people]. Notwithstanding the Indian women have all the fuel and bread to procure, and the cooking to perform, their task is probably not harder than that of white women. . . .[98]

It should also be added that many of the tasks of the women were accomplished by a co-operative group of relatives, who lightened their labors with feasts and gaiety; the men, on the other hand, were frequently alone when hunting.[99] There were a few individuals who were part-time specialists; these were the wampum makers, other artisans, shamans, and sachems. All of these individuals took part in the basic subsistence activities of their sex.

Annual Round

Important to the understanding of the subsistence activities and the general economy of the Delawares is a discussion of the subsistence cycle or annual round. A. F. C. Wallace has recently investigated this phase of their culture and his conclusions correspond closely to mine, though based on slightly different evidence.[100] In the spring and summer

[91] Pastorius, 1912, p. 385; Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[92] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 158; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16, agrees on this point.

[93] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-57.

[94] Denton, 1845, p. 6; O. A., M. B.

[95] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 302; Brickell, 1842, p. 47; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 16; M. B.

[96] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24.

[97] De Vries, 1909, p. 218.

[98] Jemison, 1918, pp. 46-47; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156, echoed this point of view.

[99] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 156; M. B., J. T., O. A.

[100] Wallace, 1947, pp. 16-18.

3: Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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hundred pounds of sugar in a season and a quantity of molasses, besides.

Sugar boiling is chiefly the employment of women. Even widows are able to earn enough by it to secure clothing and whatever else they may need. While the women are thus engaged, the men hunt and supply meat. As the deer skins are of little value at that season of the year, they generally hunt bear, which they seek in the rocks, hollow trees or thickets in their winter quarters. Bears are at this time generally fat.

Dog-wood[124] is also found in these parts. The rind of the root is used in the apothecary shops in place of Jesuit-Bark.[125] This tree grows to be neither large nor high.

Red Cedars[126] are found along the Muskingum finer and larger than I have seen elsewhere in North America. They do not grow on the mountains as in Pensilvanien, where they are stunted and scrubby, but in the bottoms.

The spruce tree[127] is neither a fir nor a pine, according to my view, but something between the two. In this region the tree is found only occasionally along the creeks and rivers. In more northerly districts, however, there are great spruce forests and swamps.

Pitch-pine[128] is rarely found here and white pine[129] not at all; a hundred miles to the south one may see many specimens of either variety. Fir-trees[130] I have seen near the source of the Ohio and pines[131] not far from Bethlehem, across the Blue Mountains in the great swamp.

Vines are very numerous, especially in the bottoms. They climb up the trees and look like anchor strands, often being thicker than these. The grapes they bear have a sour taste. Those which grow on the highlands and only have short, tender shoots, being frequently disturbed in their growth by brush-fires, have the best grapes. These have a good taste. Experience has taught that good wine may be made of both kinds.

The elm tree,[132] already noticed above, is of no particular use, for the wood rots quickly, except that the Mingoes make bast canoes and kettles for sugar boiling of the bark, which is very tough.

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.89 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

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9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593 462 562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224] [484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, according to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware regard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292-98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes and other less important wild products were gathered. The

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

156 787 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high 154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and [762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce approved social behavior.[34] The father spent 593 much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when the fur trade added to the importance of [462] hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women 562 were described as being given to petty [157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.